

A
S E R M O N

Preached before the

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St. JAMES's Chapel,
Upon the Thirtieth of January, 1715.

B E I N G T H E
D A Y o f t h e M A R T Y R D O M
O F
K I N G C H A R L E S I.

Woke By the Most Reverend Father in GOD
WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

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A

THE COURT OF COMMONS

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE 14th DAY OF APRIL 1701

THE PETITION OF

THE LORDS OF THE TRINITY

SHUNTING UPON THE

GRANT AND GOOD

OF THE TRINITY

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ST. MAT. XII. 25.

Every Kingdom divided against its self is brought to Desolation.

THESE Words being nothing else but a *Maxim* founded upon Humane Reason and Observation, as well as approved of by our *Saviour's* Divine Wisdom; I shall not need to trouble you with any Enquiry into the Occasion that was here given for the Use of them. It is enough that they carry a compleat Sense in Themselves; and have, God knows, but too plain a Relation to the mournful Solemnity of this Day.

WE are now Assembled to Commemorate the *Murder* of a great and good *Prince*, cut off by the Hands of his Own People: To Consider the Rise, the Progress, and Consummation, of so Unparallel'd a Villany: And at once both to express our unfeigned Detestation of what those Wicked Men, the Authors, and Executioners, of this accursed Fact, heretofore did; and to Guard our Selves by the Consideration of what was then Done, from ever being drawn into the like Crime. And, in order hereunto, I know not how I could better contribute my Part, than by Reasoning with you upon the *Words* before us. The plain Import of which is this: That Factions, and Divisions, in any *Kingdom*, are the readiest Means to bring it to *Desolation*; and unless a timely Stop be put to them, will be but too likely to ruin and destroy it. This was the Case in our Own Unnatural Civil War; the result of which we are now

met to Bewail. Fears and Jealousies divided our Minds, and raised our Animosities against One Another. Party, and Private Interest, kept them up, and Increased them: Till at last the Fire broke out with an irresistible Violence; and brought all to Ruin and Confusion. Destruction, and Desolation, encompass'd us on every side: Our *Church* was laid waste; Our *Monarchy* subverted; and our *Royal Sovereign*, the Guardian of Both, was brought to Execution. Instead of a *King* and *Parliament*, we had neither *King*, nor *Parliament*, left us; but the Scandalous Remainder of the One, and I know not what Sort of Governour, under the name of a *Protector*, for the Other, Ruled, or rather Domineer'd, over us: Till finally being wearied with our Own Changes, and always for the Worse; it pleased God by a Miracle of Mercy to bring Us back again to that Orderly Estate, from which we had so long, and unhappily, departed.

SUCH was the fatal Effect of our mutual Contentions! And so fully was the Truth of our *Text* accomplish'd, to our Present Ruine, and to our Lasting Reproach; that *Every Kingdom divided against it self, is brought to Desolation.*

FOR the better clearing of which Remark, and that I may in some measure answer the Design of the *Present Solemnity*; I will in the following Discourse,

First; Consider the *Truth* of this *Maxim*, in the General Ground, and Reason, of it. And,

Secondly; As I proceed, will apply the Observations I shall have Occasion to insist upon, to our *Own Troubles*, and *Confusions*; and so bring them home to the unhappy Subject, and Business, of this Day.

To shew, *in the General*, how natural a Tendency

dency Factions and Divisions are apt to have, to expose a Kingdom, or People, to Destruction; I must observe, that the Ruin of such Societies may proceed from a Two-fold Cause; Either from the Force, and Violence, of a Foreign Enemy; or from its Own Tumults and Contentions within it self. The latter of which tho' it be, alone, sufficient to Overthrow any Nation, as our own Experience has abundantly shewn; does yet often give Occasion to the Former also: Whilst the Opposite Parties at Home, not only divide the Counsels that should be taken, and defeat the Preparations that should be made, to Oppose the Common Enemy, but sometimes actually invite him in; and help Him to Gain that Conquest of their Own Countrey, which He could never have been able any Otherwise to Accomplish.

BUT this is not that which I am now to insist upon: The *Desolation* I am, at present, to Consider, is that which proceeds from the *Inward Subversion of the State and Government*. And what a fatal Aptitude Factions, and Divisions, have to procure this; and how effectually those of our Own Countrey, in the Last Age, did Accomplish it; I come now particularly to shew.

It is agreed by All who have ever consider'd these Matters with any Care, or Knowledge; that the Peace and Prosperity of a Kingdom are then the best promoted, and most firmly Established, when there is a right Understanding between the Prince, and People: When They are Both united in one Common Interest; and not only Aim at the same End, but agree in the same Measures to accomplish that End. As, on the other hand; If at any time it falls out, whether by Design, or by Mistake; by the Folly of Some, or the Cunning of Others, that
this

this Good Understanding is Impair'd ; So that either the Prince grows Jealous of the Affections, or Intentions, of his People ; Or the People become Intoxicated with Fears and Apprehensions, of the Power, or Proceedings, of their Prince : If these Diffidences arise so high as to produce an utter Distrust between Them ; and, in consequence thereof, They are Both made Uneasie with One Another : If, lastly, by these Means They come to have their Different Ends, instead of mutually Uniting in the same Common End, the Publick Good ; So that what the One, the most rationally desires, and most industriously pursues, is for that very Reason Opposed, and Obstructed by the Other : It is obvious to discern that this must not only weaken the Strength of such a Kingdom, but lay the Foundation of worser Evils ; and, unless some speedy Remedy be provided, will bring It to Ruin, and Confusion.

LET me for the Truth of these Remarks appeal to the History of our Own Countrey. It is well known what powerful Enemies this Nation had at the *beginning* of the *Reformation* : When the Malice and Policy of *Rome* ; the Arms of *Spain* ; and the Abettors of another *Title* to the *Crown of England*, were all combined against Us. Nor did there want a Malignant Party within, to favour the Cause, and promote the Interest, of the Enemy without. And yet, how invincibly did We then stand, by the Blessing of God, against all their Attempts ? Whilst the *Court*, and the *Countrey* ; the *Queen* and the *People*, kept up a constant good Understanding with one another : And as They did Both truly pursue the Publick Welfare, so They Both had an entire Opinion of, and Confidence in each Other, that Both did so.

THIS

THIS was the Felicity of that *Reign*; the Honour of Our *Countrey*; the Wonder of *Europe*; and the Disappointment, and Confusion of all Our *Enemies*. It made Our *Queen*, and Our *Nation*, revered in those Days; and will continue to render their Wisdom, and Happiness, the Praise, and Admiration of All that shall hereafter read the History of their Conduct.

ON the contrary; Never was any People more happy, or secure, than We of this Kingdom were, for several Years, under the Government of the *Royal Martyr* of this Day. We enjoy'd a constant Peace and Tranquillity Abroad; and We grew wanton in our Riches, and our Vices too, at Home. Plenty and Prosperity flow'd in upon Us on every side. Such was Our State, that scarce any thing could have hurt Us but our Own Quarrels. And yet, How did some little Misunderstandings, which at first might easily have been removed, alienate the Affections of Many from the Government, and give Them Opportunity to Poison the Minds of More, in all Parts of the Realm? Into what Streights; and Difficulties, did this bring Us? Whilst first the King was constrained to exercise some Arbitrary, and Offensive, Acts of Power to support his Wants; and these were so successfully magnified, and improved among the People, by Men of Factious and Unquiet Spirits, that the Hearts of Both became every Day more Estranged from One Another. Thus all things went on to greater, and more dangerous Divisions; and at length broke out into an Open War: And ended not but in the Murder of the King; the Destruction of many Thousands of the People; the Ruin of our Government both in Church and State; and the Shame and Reproach of the whole Kingdom.

BUT

BUT not to rest in these General Reflections ; but to come to a more Distinct, and Particular Proof of the Truth of my *Text*. To secure the Peace, and Happiness, of any Kingdom, these *Four* things seem necessarily required :

1st. That Those who are *advanced by the Prince to any Places of Publick Trust*, should be *competently qualified* for the *Discharge* of the *Duties* of Them.

2^{dly}. That They should *manage themselves impartially*, in their several *Places*, for the *Publick Good*.

3^{dly}. That Those who shall from time to time be *Chosen* by the *People*, to *Aid*, and *Advise* the *Prince*, in the *Great* and *Difficult Affairs* of the *Realm* ; should be such as may be both *Capable* of *discharging* the *Great Trust* reposed in them, and *Likely so to Do*.

4^{thly}. That the *People* should be generally disposed to *Love* and *Obey* their *Prince* ; to approve of his *Proceedings* ; and be ready to help and assist him in all things that tend to the *Common Welfare*.

THESE are such things without which no Kingdom can long stand ; nor any Nation be either *Quiet*, or *Secure*. If therefore *Divisions* in any State, will be evermore apt to interrupt These : If instead of prompting Men to do those things, in their several *Places*, and *Stations*, which tend to the *Publick Good*, they will rather dispose them to act quite contrary thereunto : It must then follow, that They are the ready Means to *bring a Kingdom to Desolation* ; and that where the One prevail, the Other cannot long stand.

1st. To secure the Peace, and Happiness of any
Peo-

People, it is requisite “ That *Those* who are advanced by the Prince to any Places of Trust, and Authority, in the Government, should be competently Qualified for the Discharge of them: Because upon These the good, or bad, Administration of the Publick Policy will depend; and as They are duly qualified, or not, to Advise and Act, so the Great Affairs of State, with which they are entrusted, will either proceed wisely, and justly, and steddily; Or else be rashly, and unjustly, and unsteddily, carry’d on. And what a powerful Influence this must have upon the Peace, and Welfare, of the Society, every Man’s Reason will tell Him; and there are but very Few, whose own Observation must not have, either way, Confirmed it to Them.

PRINCES, how Glorious soever they may appear, are yet but Men. They can neither be every where Present to See, and Order, their Own Affairs; Nor are They able, alone, to Transact even that part of Them, which the most nearly belongs to Themselves to take care of. They must therefore have some Others both to Advise, and Assist, Them. They must Hear with Other Mens Ears; and See with Other Mens Eyes; and Act by Other Mens Hands. Their very Justice its self must be dispensed by Other Persons: And upon the wise, and well doing of all this, the Happiness, or Misery, of a whole Kingdom depends.

It is therefore a Matter of the utmost Consequence to the Publick Welfare both of the Prince and People, what Persons are employ’d in the Great Affairs of State. That they be Men of Wisdom and Experience; of Knowledge and Capacity; of Industry and Integrity; of Virtue and Sobriety; but, above all, of strict Justice and Honesty. That they be free from
B Pride,

Pride, and Hating Covetousness; and Uncapable of being either bribed, or byass'd, to do a wicked Thing.

SUCH a Ministry as this will render a Prince Great, and a Kingdom Happy. But if instead of these Endowments Men are taken into Places of Trust and Power, not for Merit, but for Favour; Not because They are either Fit for Them, or will be likely to do any Good in Them, but because They may be Useful to Those who promote Them: If Strife and Faction be made the Standard of Worth and Capacity; and it be not so much consider'd who is best Qualified to do the Publick Service, as who will be most proper to carry on some other private, and sinister, Designs; it is evident that both the Prince, and People, must suffer by their Means: And the whole Nation be in Danger of coming to Desolation, thro' the Weakness, or Wickedness, of Those who have the Management of its Great Affairs Committed to Them.

Now this will generally be the Effect of *Divisions* in any Kingdom. I speak not here of such *Divisions* in which the Safety of the *Government* it self is concern'd; And Men are Grown to such a Pitch of Insolence, as to dare openly to dispute the *Prince's Authority*, and to do what in Them lies to *destroy* both their *King*, and their *Countrey*. Such Persons as these, be their Capacities in Other Respects what they will, are so far from being fit to be entrusted with, or employ'd in, the Publick Affairs of State, that it would be a Treachery of the highest kind to afford any Countenance to Them; much more to put any Power into their Hands. The *Divisions* I mean are of a lesser kind: Such as may arise, and too often have done so, among Those who live under the same Government, and equally agree in their
their

their Obligations to submit to, and support it. And how far such *Divisions*, if they rise up to any height, will be apt to influence the Choice of Those who are to administer the Great Affairs of the Realm, and by that means turn to the Publick Derriment, the Experience of all Ages, and Countries, has too plainly shewn.

It is but a little way that the Personal Knowledge of the wisest Princes can Go in the Judgment, and Choice, of their Ministers. Their Station, and Character, which affords them so many Advantages in other Respects, debars them of that Freedom of Conversation, and those Opportunities of Tryal, without which it is almost impossible to judge of Mens Abilities, and Integrity. Even Those whom They admit into their Presence, are under such a Caution and Restraint before Them, that it is Difficult from their Carriage, or Discourse with Them, to determine what their real Temper, or Disposition, or, it may be, their very Principles, are.

THEY must therefore, in this great Affair, depend upon the Report of Those who are about Them; and chuse their Ministers by other Mens Judgment more than their Own. If therefore those who have the Recommending of Such as are to serve the Publick committed to Them, be engaged in any Parties, or Designs, different from the Common Welfare of their King and Countrey, Themselves; If They have an undue Affection for, or a Private Interest to serve by, One Sort of Men, rather than Another; and want that Generosity of Spirit which should prompt Them to consider the Publick Safety more than their Own; 'tis plain that the Government instead of being equally inclined towards the whole Body of the People, will be restrained to that

Part of it which has the good Fortune to be favoured by Those upon whom the Prince relies; and that All others will be shut out as Useless, if not dangerous, and disaffected.

AND what an unhappy Influence this will be likely to have upon the Peace and Establishment of any Kingdom, I shall not need to say. When once a Nation becomes jealous of its Governours, and according to an unhappy modern Distinction, the *Court* is look'd upon to have One Interest, and the *Countrey* Another; How is it possible that Affairs should proceed smoothly and vigorously for the Common Good of Both? This must clog the Wheels of Action, and cause the Publick Business to go on with Struggle and Difficulty. There will be Art, and Industry, used on Both Sides, to defeat One Another's Designs: And this will widen the Breach, and raise the Animosities to a greater heighth. Every Miscarriage in the Administration of Affairs (and in such Circumstances it can hardly fail but that Miscarriages there will be) will give Occasion to new Discontents: And whencesoever they really proceed, each Side will be sure to impute Them to the Fault, or Frowardness, of the Other.

THUS it was under that unfortunate *Prince* whose Tragedy we now lament. The *Chief Managers of his Affairs* (whether justly, or not, it becomes not me to determine) were either by their Own Imprudence, or through the Artifice of Others, look'd upon as *Enemies of the People*. His *Parliaments*, which were assembled for other Purposes, made the *Prosecution* of their real, or pretended, *Crimes*, the main business of their *Debates*: And the *Ministers*, in Requital, soon found means to get rid of those *Parliaments*; and by degrees to Govern altogether
without

without Them. And when at last, after twelve Years Interruption, the Affairs of the Realm necessarily required their Renewal; and, to satisfy their Demands, the *Chiefest Ministers* were not only *Removed*, but some of Them were *Sacrificed* to their *Resentments*; and Others of a *different Stamp* were taken into their Places; yet even They so managed Themselves as to shew that They had more concern to gratify a Party, than to pursue either the King's, or the Kingdom's, Peace: Till finally the Principal of Them not only *took up Arms* against their *Own Master*; but *Headed* Those who began the *Rebellion* against Him. To speak more particularly in so Nice a Matter, might perhaps be offensive, but I am sure 'tis Needless. Their Characters, and their Actions, are at large Recorded in the late *noble History* of those Times: A Monument more durable than if They had been engraven in Brass, or Marble. There the present Age may read, and Posterity will see, how basely They first betray'd, and then deserted, their Royal Sovereign; whose Domestic Servants they were: And by their Private Designs and Animosities began those Troubles, which at last brought his Sacred Head to the Block. But,

2dly. " To Establish the Peace and Tranquillity
" of any People, there should be not only such a
" Care taken, as I have now shewn, of the *Choice*
" of Those who are to be *admitted* into any *Places*
" of *Trust in the State*; but They who are Called
" to such Places, should be no less solicitous to *ma-*
" *nage themselves Impartially in Them, for the*
" *Publick Good.* Without this, the better quali-
fied any such Persons are for Parts and Abilities, the
more dangerous they will be to the Common Wel-
fare; and the more Capable of doing Mischief:
Whilst

Whilst their Cunning, and Policy, suggest to Them the most subtle Ways of promoting their Own Unwarrantable Designs; and their Interest, and Authority, furnish them both with Means, and Instruments, to Accomplish whatsoever they Project, or Desire.

THERE is nothing more Ominous to any State, than a Set of wicked *Achitophels* at the Head of its Affairs: Whose Credit and Policy, whose Thoughts and Contrivances, tend not so much to the Peace and Prosperity of their Prince, or Countrey, as how to pursue their Own Interests, or Resentments. And yet where *Divisions* arise to an undue Height in any Kingdom, this will be more or less the Result of Them. Whether the Government leans generally One way, and the People Another; Or whether the several Parties struggle pretty Equally in Both; Those who are in Authority will, in either Case, have Many to Envy their Greatness, and to Censure their Conduct; to Undermine them in their Interest, and, if it be possible, to bring them down from their Power, and Dignity. Now this will naturally Engage Them in such Measures as may be most likely to Support Themselves, tho' to the Detriment of the Publick. Instead of minding what may best advance the Welfare of the Realm, their Business will be to gain some Persons, to Discredit Others; to Raise These, and to Depress Those. For this They must Strengthen One Sort of Men; must Weaken Another; as their Own Private Safety shall Require: And to this all other Considerations, tho' of never so much Importance to the Publick Good, will be likely to be Sacrificed by Them.

THIS

THIS was another Ground of those *Civil Confusions* which brought on the detestable *Parricide* of this Day. Our Affairs abroad, in the Beginning of the Reign of our *Royal Martyr*, made it necessary for Him to Assemble several *Parliaments* One after Another. These were Warm against the *Chief Managers at Court*, and that not altogether without Reason, as the Honourable *Relator* of those Matters informs Us. To secure Themselves against their Pursuits, several *Parliaments* were *Dissolved*; and a Resolution seemed to be taken of not holding any more. Those who had acted with any remarkable *Vigour in Parliament*, or Opposed their *too Arbitrary Proceedings out of it*, were Imprison'd, and Disgraced. To supply their Master's Needs, without Danger to themselves, several *extraordinary Methods* were set on Foot for *levying Money*, and *Judges* prepared to give *Countenance* to Them. This raised new Discontents in the People; and those brought on some dangerous Proceedings in the Court, to Quiet and Suppress Them. In the *Court*, as well as in the *Kingdom*, several *Opposite Parties* strove against Each Other; and every One thought more how to Suppress its Opposite, than how to Promote the Common Welfare. Thus they went on from Lesser Animosities, to Greater and Incurable Divisions: And never stopp'd till they came to an Open Hostility; and Sacrificed the *King*, the *Church*, and even the *Monarchy* itself, to their Own private Quarrels, and Resentments.

THIS therefore was the next Step, towards the Murther of the *Royal Martyr*: And when Parties, and Divisions, prevail in any Kingdom, it is much to be feared that somewhat like this will be but too apt to become the Result of Them, unless a Seasonable

able Stop be put to them. But I must proceed yet farther. For,

3dly. " In all such States, where, by the *Constitution* of the Government the People have a
 " *Share in the Legislature*, and must be Called in
 " to *Assist*, and *Advise the King*, in the *Great Affairs of the Realm*; it is Evident, that to Secure the Peace, and Prosperity, of the Kingdom,
 " Those who are Chosen to Act as their *Representatives*, should be Men of Uprightness
 " and Integrity; of Prudence and Impartiality;
 " of Temper and Moderation: Such as will be likely seriously to Consider the *Interest of the Nation*;
 " and constantly to pursue what may make
 " for the lasting Quiet, and Establishment of it.

IN These as the highest Trust is reposed, so the Publick Happiness must, for that reason, depend very much upon their wise Conduct of Themselves, in the Great Affairs that are to be transacted by Them. All Others, the Prince Himself not excepted, Act within the Limits of the Laws Establish'd. They can do nothing at all, or Nothing that will be of any Legal force, which Those Laws do not warrant. But to this Council, acting with the Prince at the Head of it, the very Laws Themselves are subject. They can Alter, or Repeal Them; Enlarge their Power, or limit their Extent, as shall seem good to Them. Here then it is that the Nation is Capable of being the most sensibly affected; and to have more Good, or Harm, done it, than by any other Court, or Council, besides.

It is therefore a Matter of the utmost Importance to the publick Peace and Welfare, that this Great Assembly should be well and wisely Constituted. And yet when *Divisions* abound in any *Kingdom*, it is scarce

scarce to be imagined how they can be prevented from Spreading their Contagion into that Council which is to be formed out of Those very Persons who are so Divided. Every Party, and Faction, will strive to encrease the Number of their Own Friends in it: And Those, on every Side, be thought the fittest to be sent to it, not who are the most Wise, or Upright, or Moderate, or Peaceable; but who will be the most forward to stickle for their several particular Interests; and to be the most Warm, and Implacable, against all that Oppose Them. And when such Persons meet together, They will bring these Impressions along with Them; and Act more according to such Measures as their Own Friends, or Party, or Private Interests, require, than to Those which make for the Publick Good.

How fatal this effect of our *Own Divisions* was in the Reign of our *Royal Martyr*, both to the Welfare of our Realm, and the Life of that Great Prince, I shall not need to inform you. It is well known that here the Fire was kindled which in a few Years consumed the whole Kingdom. I cannot indeed say that the *Parliament* began the War, because it is certain a *good part of the Parliament* had left *Both the Houses* when the War began. But the Heats, and Animosities; the New Principles both of Law and Policy, which were Countenanced, and sent abroad by Those who still Called Themselves by that Name, and at the beginning had undoubtedly a right to it, Inflamed the Nation; Widen'd our Breaches; and prepared all Things for that unjustifiable War, into which the Remainder of it, under the *Title of the Parliament*, openly enter'd; and maintain'd by Force, and Violence, against their King.

THERE is yet One thing remaining, without which though *Divisions* may do much ; yet they cannot finish their Work ; nor reduce a *Kingdom* to utter *Desolation*. For,

4thly. " Whilst the *Body of the People* are well disposed ; whilst They Love their *Governours*, and desire to live peaceably under Them in all *Godliness and Honesty* ; tho' an Ill Ministry, and Divided Interests, and Affections, in a Realm, may very much disorder the State of it, yet They cannot bring things to that Extremity of which we are now speaking". But alas ! How can this be expected when a *Kingdom* is divided against it self ; and the Whole, or the Greater Part of the People, are drawn into the Quarrel, and engaged on One side, or Other, in it ? We all know how easy the Populacy are to be managed ; and with what dexterity Cunning Men do sometimes seduce Them, without all Reason, to follow Those whom They have set up to lead Them. Liberty and Property, but much more Conscience, and Religion, are such powerful Motives, and have such a Weight with them, that the very pretence of Them is enough to persuade whole Multitudes to Do anything for the Sake of them. And when once these come to be represented not as They ought to be, but as it is for the interest, and advantage, of Designing Men to do it ; What can be expected but that the Body of the People should be Mis-led ; and become Zealous, and even Furious, They know not Why : And perhaps at length Sacrifice that very Liberty, and Property, Conscience and Religion, which they were so earnest to preserve, to their Own unreasonable Fears, or Resentments.

THUS it was in Our *Civil War* ; and by this We came up to that Height of Wickedness, and Misery, which we now in our cooler Hours, so justly bewail

wail and condemn. Some *extraordinary*, and perhaps *arbitrary Proceedings*, there had been in the *Administration* of the *Civil Government*: And, in the business of *Religion*, Matters were carried tho' with a well meant Zeal, yet (the Difficulties of the Time, and Tempers of Men, Consider'd) to an Imprudent, if not an Immoderate Heighth. On the One side *Popery*, or rather *Papists*, and *Arminianism*; *High Conformity*, and *Exorbitant Principles of Power*, and *Obedience*, were favour'd and encourag'd. On the Other, it was accounted a Matter of Conscience to allow of nothing but rigid *Calvinism*, and the *loosest Principles in Matter of Government*. Our *Episcopacy*, and the *Liturgie*, by Law Establish'd, were thought no better than the *Remainders of Popery*: *Ecclesiastical Canons*, and *Constitutions*, were declared to be Illegal, tho' Confirmed by the Royal Authority, without the Consent of Parliament. And if a Minister were but known to be a Friend to Any of These, it was enough to render Him, (in the Language of those Times,) a *Scandalous Minister*; and, which was yet more, to Justifie the treating of Him as a Malignant.

ON the One side, Errors were Committed, and it ought not to be Deny'd, in some extraordinary Methods of *Raising Money*; in the too extended Proceedings of the *Council Board*, and *Star Chamber*; perhaps in a few more particulars. On the Other side, such Liberties were taken, when They grew strong enough for it, as never any People, or Parliament, pretended to before. Witness the *tumultuary Violence* that was used to carry whatever the Faction aimed at in *Parliament*. The *Bishops*, who had ever been a *Part* of that *Great Council*, and by our Constitution make up the *first*, and *chiefest* *Estate*;

Estate of the *Clergy* in it, were by an expresse Act deprived of their Places, and Votes, there. The *Militia*, without so much as an Act to justify it, was taken out of the King's Hands: The *Fleet* seized; the *Garrisons* shut up, and Arm'd, against Him: And all this was done by those very Men, who had been so affected with the fears of *Arbitrary Government* before; and could not endure the least Shadow of it in the King, or his Ministers.

By these Methods was our Unhappy Nation intirely broken in pieces. All Reverence was lost for the *Prince* on the one hand, and for the *Parliament* on the other. Mens Tempers were Sour'd; their Passions raised; Their Heat and Fury (by some Mis-called Zeal,) suffered to run beyond all Bounds: And then the War broke out which overthrew all our Foundations; and finally exposed us to the Sin, and Scandal, of *Murdering our Own King*.

THUS was the *Royal Martyr* Sacrificed to the Violent, Arbitrary, and Unchristian Fury, of Wicked and Blood-thirsty Men. These were the Methods which brought on at Once both His, and our Kingdom's Ruin. Fears and Jealousies, Raised and Improved by the Artifice of a few Cunning, and Discontented Persons, first divided Us into several Opposite Parties, and Interests. These strengthened Themselves, and increased, till they became Great, and Powerful. The unhappy Contagion overspread the whole Realm. The Court; the Parliament; the Church; the People; All were infected by it. And still as the Breach grew wider, Men's Animosities became more Furious and Irreconcilable. Till, at last, the whole Study and Endeavour on every Side seemed to be which should do most to Oppose, or subdue the Other; and the Effect was that in the End they destroyed All. So

So fully, but withal so fatally, was the Remark of our *Saviour* verified in our Confusions, that a *Kingdom divided against itself, is brought to Desolation!* Every Degree of *Publick Divisions* is One Step towards the *Publick Ruine*. As the Former increase, the Latter naturally follows: And, unless a timely Stop be put to Them, no sooner shall the *Divisions* of any People come to their full Heighth, but the *Desolation* of that People will inevitably follow thereupon.

BUT is this All We are to Do in Pursuance of the Duty of this Solemnity? Will it be sufficient to answer the Pious Design of it, that We meet together, and Recount the Story of this black Tragedy; and, like the *Pharisees* heretofore, condemn the Proceedings of our Fathers, and say, that *if we had* Matt. xxiii. *lived in their Days, We would not have done such* ^{30.} *things*; And so lay aside all farther Thoughts of this Matter, till the next Return of this melancholy Season?

No certainly: This will neither Secure our Publick Peace, nor expiate the Guilt of that Blood which this Great Wickedness has brought upon Us. But we must so consider this Parricide, as at once both to *raise up in our Souls a hearty Repentance for it*; and to *Confirm our Resolutions* never more to *engage in any Methods, that may be likely to expose Us to any Such Sin, for the time to Come*. This therefore is the *Improvement*, which I shall beg leave briefly to make of the foregoing Observations; and so I shall have done.

(1st.) WE should in such wise Consider this Great Wickedness, as to *raise up in our Souls a hearty Repentance for it*.

THIS may be accounted a very Needless, perhaps

an Improper *Improvement*, with Respect to the Most of us here present; Who had neither any Hand, nor Counsel, in the *Sin*, and therefore, One would think, should not be called to *Repentance* for it. But let Us not deceive our Selves: Our Countrey has been defiled with this Royal Blood; and that must be cleansed by a National Sorrow and Repentance. And We, as Members of it, must join in the Humiliation, that so we may escape the Judgment of God, when He shall make Inquisition for it.

It was the Command of God to the *Jews* heretofore, that if a Man were found slain in the Land, and it was not known Who had slain Him; the Elders of the City which was nearest to the Place where He was found, should take a Heiffer, and Kill Him, and Wash their Hands over his Head, and
 Deut. xxi. 8. say; *Our Hands have not shed this Blood, neither have our Eyes seen it: Be merciful, O LORD! unto thy People Israel whom Thou hast Redeemed; and lay not innocent Blood unto thy People of Israel's Charge.*

If thus much were required to Clear a City of the Casual Murder of an Ordinary Person, which they knew nothing of, neither had any Hand in it; Let us not think that the solemn, premeditated Parricide, of a Sovereign Prince, transacted in a Form of Justice, and by a Pretence of Publick Authority, can be attoned for by any thing less than the Publick Repentance, and Deprecation, of the whole Realm: Or that We, who, by God's Blessing, had no personal Concern in the Shedding of this Blood, ought not yet as Members of the same Realm, openly to declare our Detestation of it; and to implore God's Pardon for our Land, which I fear is still Defiled by it.

THIS therefore We All should do, and I am persuaded

suaded We have all of us heartily done it this Day. As for the Other thing proposed for the better *Improvement* of this Solemnity,

(2dly) That the Consideration of what was then done, should *make us the more careful not to engage in any Methods that may endanger our falling into the like Guilt*;

BOTH our Duty, and our Interest, require it of Us: And if We are indeed so truly affected, as we ought to be, with the Memory of this Great Crime, we shall not need to be much excited to it. We have seen from what small Beginnings this great Evil, and Desolation, came upon Us: O let this be a lasting Caution to Us not to give way to any such Discontents, the Effects whereof have been once already so fatally Destructive, as well as Dishonourable, to Us!

IN Matters of Publick Administration Errors will sometimes be committed: Offences will be given, or at least will be taken; and Causes of Complaint arise to many Persons. Thus it has always been; and such is the imperfect State of things in this World, that thus, in some Measure, it will always be. Let this teach us to make a due Allowance for such Mis-carriages as can never be totally avoided: And engage Us, if at any time they should happen, not to carry our Resentments of them farther than is consistent with the Publick Peace.

BUT especially, let not any tolerable Excesses in the Government, should any such be hereafter committed, as in the time of this Unfortunate Prince we are told there were; transport Us into an ill Opinion of, or Indignation against, our Royal Sovereign; or provoke Us to any undutiful Returns for Them. It is a just, as well as wise, Maxim of our
Law:

1 Sam.
xxvi. 9.

Law: That the Prince can do no Wrong. He Acts by the Counsel, and Ministry, of Others; and is always to be presumed to design Every thing for the best. Those therefore who Give any Counsel, or Execute any Commands, which are not lawful, or expedient for the Publick Good, must answer for what They Advise, and Do: But the Person of the Prince is Sacred, and Inviolable; nor *can any One touch the Lords Anointed, and be Guiltless.*

NAY but farther; not only the *Persons* of Princes certainly are, but their *Honour* too ought to be Sacred. The Safety of the Realm depends upon it; which will then be always the most effectually Secured, when the People have a high Esteem of the Justice and Integrity of their Rulers: And do truly believe, what they should always suppose, that however They may sometimes chance to be Mistaken or Mis-led, yet They mean well; and evermore design to Act so, as may the most conduce to the Publick Good.

I HOPE I shall not be so far Mis-understood in what I am now Speaking, as if I intended thereby to insinuate, that any Excesses *had been* Committed, by the present Government; or were *hereafter likely to be* Committed. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that as no Prince has ever been more Careful to employ His Royal Authority to the Good of His People, than His Majesty has been; and to regulate His Power by the strictest Measures of our Establish'd Laws, and Constitution; So there never will be any thing attempted, or done, by His Knowledge, or with His Consent, contrary thereunto. But should the Case be Otherwise, as in the time of the Royal Martyr it has been pretended; Yet still Rebellion is the worst Method that any People can take,

take, to rectify the Errors, or Abuses, of Government: And any tolerable Excesses should rather be born, than to bring things to such an Extremity as must probably End in the utter Destruction both of our Liberties, and our Religion.

To all which, let us add, finally, our utmost Care not to fall into any *Divisions* among *Our Selves*; Which tho', like *Elijah's* Cloud, they should appear no bigger than a *Man's Hand* at the first, may yet, before we are aware, Overspread our whole Hemisphere with Horror and Darkness; and break upon Us with such a Storm as may destroy Us all. *The beginning of Strife*, says the Wise Man, *is as* Prov. xvii. *when One letteth out Water*. When once the Bank ^{14.} is thrown down that should keep it within its Channel, We cannot tell whither it will Go, or how far it may prevail. At first perhaps it will spread Gently about; but it will still encrease both in its Breadth, and Violence; till at length it carries all before it, and swallows up the whole Countrey in a general Inundation.

AND when Things are come to such a pass, who can tell what Wickedness, or Miseries, may ensue upon it?

I VERILY believe there were Few, if Any, of those who first began our Own Troubles, that thought of entring into a Civil War; much less of Subverting the Church; of Changing our ancient Monarchy into a Popular State; and of making way for Both by the Murther of the King. Should any such Villanous Design have been suggested to the fiercest amongst them, I doubt not but He would have rejected it with the same Indignation that *Hazael* did the like Prediction of the Prophet, *2 Kings* viii. 13. *What, is thy Servant a Dog that he should Do such things?*

things? Yet these Things as detestable as they truly were, and They Themselves at the beginning would have accounted Them to be, Those very Men in the end did Do: And should we ever suffer our Divisions to rise again to the like exorbitant Height they heretofore did, God knows what New Wickedness may be the Result of them. Sure I am, Our only Safety consists in the Resisting of the first Beginnings of such Disorders; which is much more Easy, as well as more Christian, than to proceed with Temper, and Moderation in Them.

THERE is great Reason to believe, howsoever they seemed to Act above-board, that our Old, Inveterate Enemies, the *Papists*, were at the Bottom of all the Wickedness that was heretofore committed; and, particularly, drove on the Murther of the King. We all know what Credit They had in the Court of that Prince. They appeared openly, and insolently, in the Exercise of their Religion; and had but too much Protection given them against the Penalties of the Law in what They did.

WHEN the last Parliament met, which began our Confusions, we are assured by One who was the best able to inform Us of the Transactions of those Times, that the *French Ambassador* was very Active against the King in it. It was the *Queen*, who by the Advice of Her *Priests*, and at the Instigation of the *French Court*, persuaded his Majesty to Consent that the *Bishops should be turned out of the Parliament*. From other undoubted Relations, we are informed how far They were concern'd in the *Tumults of Scotland*; the first Foundation of our Own War. That the *Priests* then preach'd in a *Puritan Dress*: Railed at *Episcopacy*; Defended the *Covenant*; and had their *Licences*,

ces, and *Indulgences*, granted Them so to do. That when our Wars broke out, They divided Themselves into the *Two Armies*, and kept a Constant Correspondence with One Another: And the Year before the King was Beheaded, held a great Consult about Cutting off his Majesty, and Changing the Government; and sent Dispatches to *Rome* for Direction in that Particular. Of all this, and much more that might be added, we have good Proof; and may I think from hence learn whom we are to thank for this *barbarous Murther*; as we well know upon whose *Principles* Those went Who were the Actors in it.

I SHALL not offer any Arguments to Convince you that the same Politicians are now again at Work; and would be very Glad, if they were able, to bring us again to the like Ruin and Confusion. The Proofs of it are too Open, as well as too plain, to be doubted of by any. Could they but manage the Discontents They have artificially Raised among Us, with such Success, as to Remove our *King*, and his *Royal Family* (whom God preserve against all their Devices!) They have One ready at hand to Supply his Place: And it would be a double Triumph, and Satisfaction, to Them, to Reproach and Ruine Us at the same time.

LET this engage Us to be the more careful both to Establish our Selves, and to Disappoint Them! Let it Unite us in a hearty and vigorous Prosecution of all such Measures as make for our Peace, and for the better Security of our Reformed Religion, and Government. Wheresoever we see any Persons (be their Characters, or Pretences, what they will,) offer at any thing which may be apt either to *Divide Us among our selves*, or to *favour the Designs*

Rom. xvi.
17

Designs of our Common Enemies, let us Mark Those Men and Avoid Them. Let us account of them as no other than Popish Emissaries; and Adversaries both to the Religion, and Welfare, of their Countrey.

THIS will, by God's Blessing, soon Restore Peace and Prosperity to our Kingdom: Will settle the Throne; secure our Rights, and Liberties; and enable us to defie all the Power, and Malice, of our Enemies. It will shew Us to have a just Sense of our past Miscarriages; and keep Us from falling any more into the like Evils. Instead of that *Desolation* which attends a *Kingdom divided against itself*, it will make Us like *David's Jerusalem*, a *People Compact together*. And the Consequence of That I cannot better deliver, than in the Words of that Holy Prophet, *Psal. cxxii. 6. They shall Prosper that love Us. Peace shall be within our Walls, and Prosperity within our Palaces.* The Vows, and Prayers, of all that wish well to the Protestant Interest, whether here, or abroad, shall follow Us; *For their Brethrens and Companions sake they shall say, Peace be within Thee.* And their Counsel and Assistance, shall always be Ready to Help and Defend us: *Yea, Because of the House of the LORD our God, they will seek to do us Good.*

May the God of Peace, who brought again from the Dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that Great Shepherd of the Sheep, make Us perfect in Peace, and in every Good Work; Stablish, Strengthen, Settle Us: To Him be Glory and Dominion for Ever and Ever. Amen.

F I N I S.

